HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

Out of Gettysburg: The news from the President's Pennsylvania retreat, pieced together with leaks from the GOP National Committee and the White House offices boils down to this: (1) Ike will not run, unless he recovers more quickly and completely than so far indicated; (2) the strategy of the White House Palace Guard is really based on a holding operation — to delay announcement of presidential plans and to prepare the way for a White House hand-picked successor.

Fundamentally, this strategy is one of "Stop Knowland," although the Palace Guardists would never admit it. They don't want to give any publicity to Knowland at all. Privately, they express fear of his strength in California (the delegation will be his — say experts from that state), and also his following (alone of any Republican potential candidates) in the South and border states. Finally, it is realized that Knowland has made much progress in his speeches to powerful Polish and other minority groups in key Northern states.

The boomlet for Milton Eisenhower for President has collapsed — according to advices from White House sources. By this time, the President's brother no longer takes seriously this talk or the various earnest souls who have sought to organize a movement to make him a candidate. In fact, he reportedly discourages the idea now. However, Brother Milton — say those who are in a position to know — is working harder than ever as a principal adviser on presidential policy and plays just as big a role. It is believed — although this is not so certain — that Milton Eisenhower is pushing the project to get Chief Justice Warren to run. But opinion is that Warren stands firm against such an idea.

Political Talk: The indictment of Truman aides, Connally and Caudle, in connection with Internal Revenue Bureau scandals is discussed here in the same breath as the rising tempo of the Democratic barrage against the Administration on the Dixon-Yates affair. Those who keep score books on such matters mark up a bullseye for Attorney General Brownell, the Administration's hatchet man, who brought the indictments. His arraignment of two Democratic aides, one of them President Truman's confidential secretary, makes — by contrast — the rather thin stuff on Dixon-Yates seem even thinner.

● Some Democratic leaders who are now coming out for Harriman for the Democratic nomination reportedly have their tongues in their cheeks. All they seek to do — it is said — is to build up Harriman's strength as against that of Stevenson until the convention. By then, these leaders hope, the two biggest rivals will be caught in a stalemate and a compromise candidate (whom they privately favor) will turn out to be Governor Frank J. Lausche. [For a not too enthusiastic piece on the Ohio Governor, see the December 10 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, "Who is Frank Lausche?" by Joe Alex Morris.]

● Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, is being "mentioned" as a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate from California, against Republican incumbent Thomas H. Kuchel. Believe it or not, the "boy wonder" — who, it is remarked, is no longer either a boy (he's 56) or a wonder — is giving very, very serious consideration to the suggestion as a stepping stone to the Presidency for which, according to his friends, he has always thought himself eminently qualified.

Labor Front: Like the beautiful new housing developments in Moscow, the walls in the new AFL-CIO organization started cracking even before the roofing had been laid. Victor Riesel, the nation's No. 1 labor reporter (syndicated to 100 leading dailies) broke the story.

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The new IUD (Industrial Union Department) is to be turned over to Walter Reuther and James Carey — the former the president and the latter the secretary of the CIO — with a blank check to go in and organize any unorganized industry anywhere. Their plans may be balked by Dave Beck, Teamsters' president, who hopes to build his 1,400,000 union to 3,000,000. Having the power to stop deliveries, Beck thinks he can do the faster job of "organizing the unorganized."

In a surprise move, Beck asked for admission to the IUD and claimed that 700,000 of his members were industrial unionists rather than craft members. Since votes are cast on a membership total basis, the combination of the Teamsters IUD membership with that of the million-plus steel workers — led by another Reuther-hater, David McDonald — could make trouble for the Reuther-Carey duo.

From labor circles in Washington, an illuminating story comes to HUMAN EVENTS: As the merger of the CIO and AFL moved closer to fruition a month ago, leaders went to Walter Reuther and lectured him about his strong-arm tactics in the Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes. They counselled the CIO chieftain to "take it easy," unless he wanted to scare or offend other labor chiefs, still hesitant about the merger. Reuther decided to take this advice — and this was the reason for his withdrawal of demands for a union shop in negotiations with Perfect Circle and Kohler recently. But, when Reuther went to see "hard-boiled" Hoffa of the Teamsters, Beck's right-hand man, and suggested that the latter soften his methods of "raiding" other unions, the Teamsters' chief goon turned him down with a "four-letter word." So the story goes.

Beck's antagonism for the two CIO leaders is so intense, according to Riesel, that he is now considering authorizing the Teamsters to go through the picket lines in the back-to-work movement at a half-dozen Westinghouse plants as well as at the Kohler strike in Wisconsin.

The merged labor combine faces another hazard: the growing discontent among the higher skilled craftsmen in many CIO plants, who object to the Reuther-Carey policy of levelling wages.

As the delegates returned home after the convention that was to celebrate the "united labor movement," many mumbled that the new organization may split off into two or three parts within the next two years.

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Federal Aid To Education: The White House Conference on Education last week ended with a flourish of headlines which predicted Federal aid to education forthcoming in the next legislative session. But after a few days of tranquillity following what was indeed a tumultous gathering, skepticism about such a prediction has arisen. Those who know Congress now doubt that the outcome in the two houses, in the session beginning in January, will be any different than it was in the last session. Then, the issue of desegregation proved a decisive barrier to the Federal aid forces. The rising temperature of Southern members on this ticklish matter suggests that any measures to appropriate money for Federal aid to localities will inevitably encounter the same roadblock.

Second thoughts about the confusing White House affair make it appear even less intelligible than it appeared during the noisy proceedings. For instance, critics of the Conference point out one basic contradiction which was embodied in the official releases, as follows: In the report, "What Are Our Building Needs?", rendered on November 30, it was stated: "The general consensus was this: no state represented has a demonstrated financial incapacity to build the schools it will need during the next five years." But, the report rendered on December 1, said: "A substantial majority felt that some states do not have sufficient financial resources to take care of the asserted needs of the schools."

Indeed, no observer who followed the proceedings could blink the fact that states and local governments possess the financial capacity to provide adequate schooling themselves. Widely circulated in Washington at the time of the Conference was a pamphlet which, with much documentation, established this fact — "Federal Aid

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to Education," by Roger A. Freeman, published and distributed by the American Enterprise Association, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. Single copy — $1. Mr. Freeman for the past five years has been assistant to Governor Arthur B. Langlie of the State of Washington.

"A review of the state and local tax burden borne by the residents of the various states," concludes Mr. Freeman, "does not indicate that any state has exhausted its taxing capacity and could not increase its revenues if it wanted to. But many states and communities are not using their taxing and borrowing powers to the extent to which they could and should use them to cope with the existent shortages in the school plant."

Pearl Harbor: Following publication of George Morgenstern's article on Pearl Harbor (see last week's issue of HUMAN EVENTS), there comes news on the grapevine that the State Department has on hand and in finished manuscript a book which reveals a pattern of diplomacy and cover-up closely similar to that offered by Mr. Morgenstern. One diplomatic official, who has seen the volume of unpublished records remarks, "It out-Theobalds Theobald" — in reference to Admiral Theobald whose book published in 1954 (Devin-Adair) upholds the thesis that the White House, during the first week in December, 1941, knew the attack was coming and deliberately did nothing about it.

Not only Theobald and Morgenstern, but other revisionist writers have badly riddled the official propaganda version of what Roosevelt called "the day of infamy" and publication of these State Department records are expected to etch this revisionist pattern more sharply — that is, if the records are made public. Publication has been delayed, according to insiders, by New Deal holdovers who run the Historical Division of the Department. Prominent among these is Mr. G. Bernard Noble, chief of the Division, listed as a Democrat in the 1954-55 *Who's Who*. Two officials of the Division who wanted full and frank publication of all such records were forced out recently — Dr. Donald Dozer, who was fired, and Mr. Bryton Barron, who was allowed to take his retirement. It is anticipated that these former functionaries will be invited to testify before Appropriations Committee hearings on the whole matter, during the next session of Congress.

After all — it is pointed out — the Senate Committee (largely through the agency of Senators Knowland and Bridges) authorized funds for the assembling and publication of the above papers, as well as the Yalta and Teheran records. The Yalta papers, while published in two metropolitan newspapers last Spring, were not made available in complete and finished form. Important papers were not included — notably some on the activities at the Yalta conference of Alger Hiss. It is said that a full disclosure of these would reveal Hiss' role at the vital meeting as far more important than so far made public. In view of all this intelligence which has been leaking out, it is believed likely that Congress will heed constant requests to give the public the true story of recent official history of how we got into the war and how we lost the peace.

For America: Reorganized and with a fighting platform, For America is now launched as a political action group to lead conservatives. General Robert E. Wood has become honorary chairman and Dean Clarence Manion and Dan Smoot, co-chairmen. A new policy committee of 70 from 26 states has been created — numbering among its members, General A. C. Wedemeyer, Eugene Pulliam, Donald Richberg, Sumner Gerard and H. R. Cullen. (It is noted that both Cullen and Pulliam were strongly for the nomination of Eisenhower at the 1952 convention.)

The platform illustrates the extent to which the group departs from the Eisenhower Administration policies. It calls for passage of the Bricker and Reed-Dirksen amendments, the repeal of the Status of Forces Treaty, strict enforcement of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. "It demands," in the

Letter from EMERSON P. SCHMIDT, Director, Economic Research Department, U.S. Chamber of Commerce: "HUMAN EVENTS is a part of a great, powerful movement to restore conservatism to intellectual respect. The underminers of the American way of life should never be given a legitimate opening to accuse the conservative of being reactionary. This can easily be done by constant effort to demonstrate that the conservative is helping to solve human problems and is not a worshipper of some ancient creed merely because it is ancient. In this respect, HUMAN EVENTS is constructive."

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words of Clarence Manion, "that the American people be given the opportunity to vote against foreign wars, against foreign aid and against bankrupting foreign entanglements."

General Bonner Fellers, national director (1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.), makes a point of the following form of political action: "We will support congressional candidates of either party who endorse our platform and we hope eventually to get a bloc in Congress who will support our views."

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Spending Abroad: In a current number of the *ADA World*, which is the organ of Fabian socialism in the U.S., Robert R. Nathan is quoted as follows: "American industry has not done enough in this economic fight against Communism." The former New Deal functionary, high in the councils of Roosevelt and Truman, means that our industry has failed to invest sufficiently abroad. Nathan, now a paid economic consultant for the Israeli and Burmese governments, says that "additional aid could produce enormous impact on the economic progress of the underdeveloped countries, especially in Asia, where per-capita incomes are so low that progress may be painfully slow under democratic methods."

Inferentially — it is remarked in Washington — Nathan urges "undemocratic methods." He wants U.S. Government money invested abroad and employed to hire U.S. firms to run the properties. The economist obviously ignores the lack of balance in our budget. He stands for heavy foreign aid — to stop Communism (he says). His theory is not widely shared among other economists who point out the central fallacy — that we can never blot out poverty all over the world by spreading our material goods on a global scale. Indeed — it is noted — the Nathan process would not work even if there were some way to dissuade the masses of Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America from multiplying their numbers *ad infinitum*. Demographers weigh very soberly and pessimistically the population data for recent postwar years. They remark that the more people we help today, the more there are to help again tomorrow. Who's to control the birth rate in Burma? The clinching answer — supplied by many observers here — is that, although $51 billions have already gone for foreign aid, Communism remains right there.

Book Store: The nation's capital — or more precisely Georgetown — now has a bookstore which will cater particularly to those of conservative taste. The Cadmus Book Shop has just opened at 1246 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. The young proprietors announce "politics a specialty" and say they will handle books of "off-the-road publishing houses that have found it difficult to market their books" in Washington. The store also says it will stock reports, pamphlets, speeches, etc., on controversial subjects — such as the American Legion fight on UNESCO, speeches by Dies, Jenner, Eastland and other conservative members of Congress. Cadmus also announces that it will be open evenings until 9 p.m. and, after the Christmas season is over, will be host for talks by anti-Communist speakers.

"People in hospitals, civilian and military, want and badly need something good and timely to read," says Russell Maguire, publisher of the *American Mercury* (25 West 57th Street, New York). Maguire offers to send FREE 25 copies of the *Mercury* every month to anyone who will deliver them to a hospital and get assurance that they will be turned over to patients. We are sure that this offer to get "our side" read will be accepted by many Human Events' readers.

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Article Section

THE VICE PRESIDENCY

Is There Really A Throttlebottom Crisis?

By HANDICAPPER

THOSE ADA-LIBERAL COLUMNISTS, who have gotten into the habit of telling the Republican Party whom to nominate, are in a new tizzy on account of how to keep the deal in the office in spite of President Eisenhower's heart attack.

Reflecting on how a worse attack might have left them with Nixon in the White House, these pundits are coming up with a lot of heavy pontification over the importance of choosing candidates for Vice President by some undefined process which will guarantee that the lucky winner will be a "liberal," an informative pipeline for right-thinking correspondents and a physical paragon with blood pressure around "120 over 75." As Roscoe Drummond, *New York Herald Tribune* political writer, put it: "The need is to revise our whole tradition and practice by which Vice-Presidential candidates are selected" — so that the "second best man" will be certain to be on the ticket, enabling the voters to play the party across the board.

These cries of Havoc seem to be based on two assumptions: (1) that in the past candidates for Vice President have been chosen by more raucous and less dignified proceedings than those surrounding the selection of presidential candidates; and (2) that Vice Presidents who took over upon the death of their predecessors usually have been inferior to the unfortunate statesmen who preceded them.

THE FIRST NOTION collapses after a casual study of the history of national conventions. Look at the Democratic National Convention of 1924! After days of screaming and yelling, punctuated by parades of war-whooping Indians and characters in Brown Derbies, the Convention finally became exhausted and retreated to a smoke-filled room to pick John W. Davis, who had been coyly suggested by the *New York Times*. The candidate for Vice President was the late Charles W. Bryan, for whom no Indians whooped or Tammany Braves tripped the light fantastic in the aisles of Madison Square Garden.

Or go back four years when the Republican leaders picked Warren G. Harding, leaving the primary favorites, Wood and Lowden, exactly nowhere. The Vice Presidential candidate was Calvin Coolidge who appealed to the convention because he had bucked the Boston police strike — a qualification at least as convincing as any cited for the man at the head of the ticket. The Democrats that year picked a throw-away candidate for President, Governor James Cox of Ohio. But for Vice President they named one Franklin D. Roosevelt. Nothing the matter with the "tradition and practice" by which one Vice Presidential

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candidate was selected in 1920 — eh, Roscoe? But did they pick their "second best man?"

Even the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln was a razzle-dazzle affair when they were balloting for the presidential candidate. After the seconding speech on behalf of the Rail Splitter was over, the demonstration was terrific. A reporter for the Cincinnati *Commercial* attempted to describe it: "Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, a score of big steam whistles going (steam at 160 lbs. per square inch) and you can conceive something of the same nature." There is no record of such undignified goings on over the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin for Vice President.

There was also the Democratic Convention of 1940 when the "third term" for the perennial Roosevelt was the issue. It will be recalled that throughout the proceedings a voice boomed through the convention hall "We want Roosevelt!" "The World wants Roosevelt!" "Michigan wants Roosevelt!", etc. Later it turned out that the Chicago superintendent of sewers was making the noise over the loud speaker. He had cut in on the amplifying system from the basement. The convention, to the subsequent national detriment, went along.

The same convention, settling down to nominate a Vice President, showed no greater perspicacity. Yielding to White House pressure, it named Henry Wallace for Vice President.

But four years later, the Democrats, although still unable to ditch Roosevelt, took a prescient look at Mr. R's recent photographs and booted Henry Wallace off the roster. Another example of the mature deliberation possible when the clowns, female drum majors and "We-Want-Hoozis" boys have moved off in another direction.

And if we must get down to recent history, the "tradition and practice" by which President Eisenhower was nominated wasn't exactly Chesterfieldian. Before the job could be accomplished, parading delegates had bitten each others' ears off in hotel lobbies; Tom Dewey had put the heat on wavering New York delegates in true totalitarian fashion; and Bob Taft had been accused of thievery. Mr. Nixon's nomination, by contrast, was made in an emptying hall after Candidate Ike had said he wanted him. Really, if anything is to be changed, why not use the Vice Presidential "tradition and practice" in naming candidates for President? Nobody would miss anything but the noise.

The point of all this is that, when it comes to nominating Vice Presidents, the party leaders are usually free to retreat to a smoke filled room and settle things in a rational manner, because nobody is supposed to care very much whether you pick Charles W. Fairbanks, Adlai Stevenson, Sr., Charles G. Dawes or Senator Sparkman. Nobody runs in primary elections for Vice President, so the boys in the back room can vote their principles or rise above them.

It would be a pity if one coronary attack should put an end to perhaps the only example remaining in the U.S.A. of how political candidates ought to be named.

THE SECOND QUESTION before the House is "Have Presidents who came up through the Throttlebottom route been

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inferior to Presidents who were named for the top positions in the first place?"

These are the Vice-Presidents who landed in the White House:

John Tyler, who succeeded Gen. William Henry Harrison; Millard Fillmore, who succeeded Gen. Zachary Taylor; Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Abraham Lincoln; Chester A. Arthur, who succeeded James A. Garfield; Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded William McKinley; Calvin Coolidge, who succeeded Warren G. Harding; and Harry S. Truman, who succeeded Franklin D. Roosevelt.

With me, Tyler and Harrison are even money and you pick the better man. "Tippecanoe" was nominated for having fought the Indians. Tyler got on the ticket to wangle Southern votes. He turned out to be about what could have been expected, but it's hard to believe that the aging Harrison would have distinguished himself in the White House either, if he had managed to last out his term.

Fillmore looks like a jerk in retrospect, ending his career as a candidate of the Know-Nothing Party, but he did back the expedition of Admiral Perry to Japan, and probably performed as well as "Old Fuss and Feathers" Taylor would have done.

Andrew Johnson was on the spot as the successor to the martyred Lincoln. He ran afoul of the abolitionist zealots who advocated a Morgenthau plan for the defeated South. Lincoln himself would probably have been in the same fix, had John Wilkes Booth missed him in Ford's Theater that fatal evening. Despite the condemnation of Johnson by his hot-headed contemporaries in Congress, Andrew came off as well as anybody with a decent Reconstruction policy could have done. No successor to Honest Abe, the victim of the assassin's bullet, would look good, and an advocate of reason in dealing with the South was certain to be denounced as a Copperhead in the fevered post-war atmosphere.

Chester A. Arthur and James A. Garfield are a dead heat with me, except that Arthur is supposed to have been a better judge of good food and wine. Neither was a "strong President," but in those days nobody cared, because there were fewer columnists. The GOP Convention of 1880 could have put either of these worthy men at the head of the ticket without giving Roscoe Drummond much reason to conclude anything definite about how Vice Presidents should be chosen.

When we get down to Theodore Roosevelt, those who are fretting about Vice Presidents being below the salt will probably pull their punches. The volatile T.R. was selected in 1900 as McKinley's running mate partly because he came from New York but mostly because he was a rebel who could be expected to fade out in the sterile environment of the Vice Presidency. I can think of several reasons to believe that things might have been just as well if President McKinley had lived. But the eager beavers who want something done about Vice Presidents certainly wouldn't go for that.

For good measure let's throw in Tom Marshall who might have succeeded Woodrow Wilson had the latter died while in office or admitted he was too sick to work. Although there would have been no League of Nations fight, the country might have gotten the Five Cent Cigar for a nickel

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instead of a quarter. Marshall might well have united the country and maybe even beaten Harding.

However, we have a really convincing example in the succession of Coolidge to Harding. Republicans still blush for Harding, but they have no reason to regret Coolidge, the man who proved the political wisdom of keeping your trap shut — a lesson too soon forgotten by politicians at the national level.

OUR LAST SUCCESSFUL heir apparent is Harry S. Truman, and, although no bargain, I submit that he was an improvement over Franklin D. Roosevelt. If Truman had to be "cleared with Sidney," it was Roosevelt whose subservience to the left wing made this humiliating procedure routine in the party of Jefferson. Harry's stubborn partisanship blinded him to the slithering of the Reds into his Government, but he had a ward leader's shrewdness about some subjects upon which Roosevelt was grotesquely ignorant. His uninhibited reaction to the news that Hitler had attacked Russia (1941) was that it would be a good idea to let them beat each other. It's not easy to become lyrical in praise of Truman — that is, until you begin imagining three or four more terms of Roosevelt.

A decent respect for the squeamishness of mankind excludes a comparison between President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon, unless to say that Ike has no reason to regret his nod to Nixon in 1952. "Tricky Dick," as the Lefties call him, would certainly rate high among the men nominated as Most Likely to Succeed the Man At The Head of the Ticket. Maybe we wouldn't have had that exhilarating session with the Spirit of Geneva, but neither would we be shaking off the current hangover. No need for the parties to revamp their Veep machinery as far as Nixon is concerned. The clique which hates him for exposing Hiss is pretty much over the hill by this time.

What the whole thing comes down to is that our high-domed boys don't like politics, except when they can pull the strings. The idea of putting Senator Bricker on the ticket to counteract Dewey seems absurd to them, but anybody with political experience knows better — except that, in this instance, things might have worked out more satisfactorily if Bricker would have been the Big Candidate, with Dewey to counteract *him!*

As long as we keep Democracy, we shall have to endure politics, disgusting as this is to the rarefied journalists who now want to be Vice President Makers, in view of the figures on coronary thrombosis. For my part, I refuse to be depressed by the permanency of politics, especially if the Pros take charge. Nor does there appear any pressing need to worry about the selection of Vice Presidents. History shows that we have done about as well in picking them, by chance if you like, as we have in picking Presidents the way we pick them.

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On December 22, 1954, we offered "Those 'Liberal' Journalists" by "Handicapper." On May 7, 1955, we offered "Up The Democrats: How That Party Can Win," by the same author. "Handicapper" is a long-suffering employee of a so-called "right-wing" paper and therefore prefers a pseudonym.

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